CAMPAIGN AGAINST
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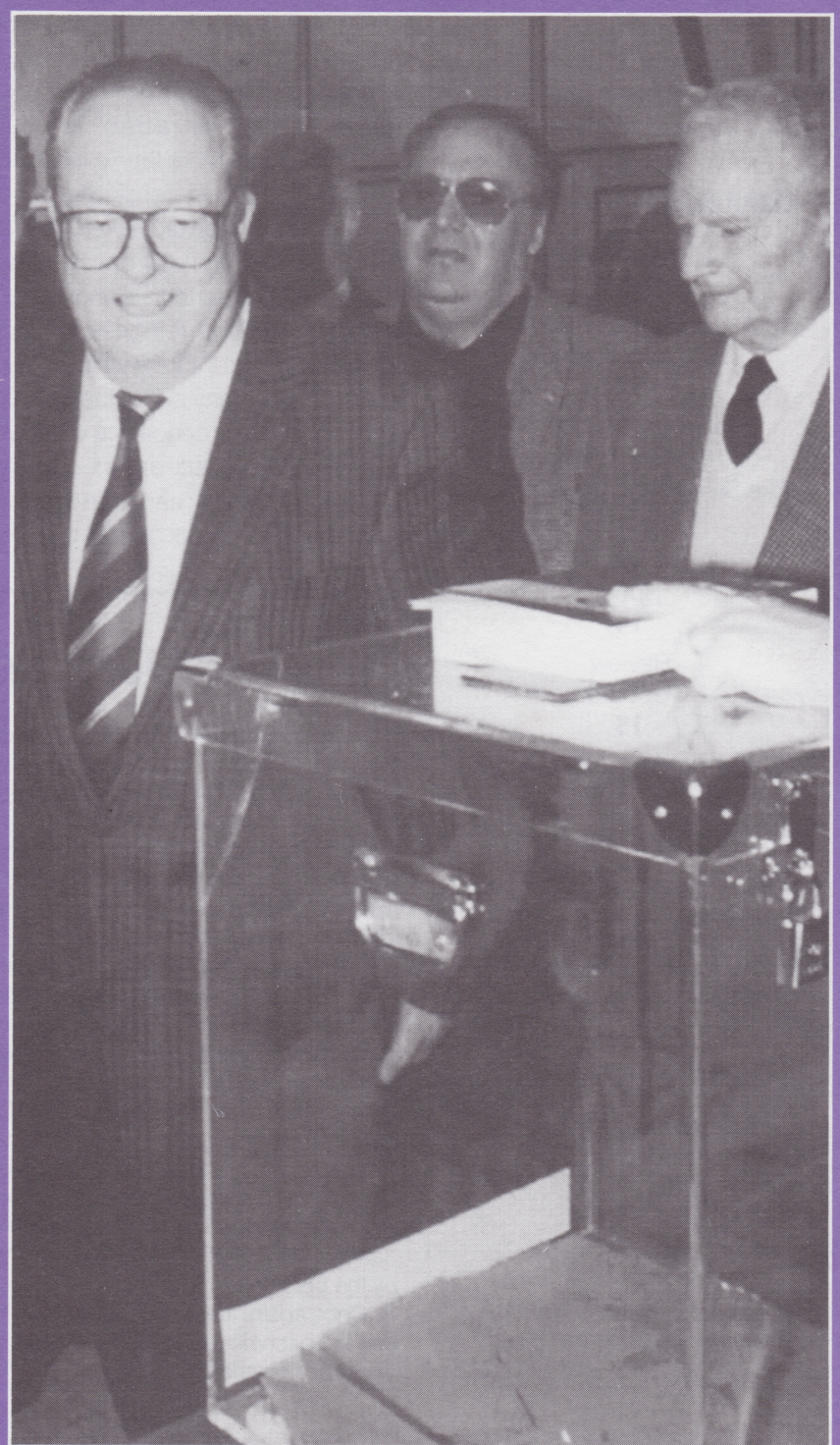
the democratic road to fascism



Referendum in Hautmont

Big Brother policing

'Revisionism' German style

Border controls

plus:

UK: Third World women prisoners

BNP attacks

Racial violence

Cricket

Anti-racist poetry

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EDITORIAL

CARF readers are, by now, familiar with the increase in racism across Europe. We have documented the growing momentum of the far Right and campaigned against the racism pervasive in Europe's institutions, its new asylum laws, the physical attacks on refugees, and the upsurge in anti-Arab racism. But if our movement is not to lose its dynamism and verve, we need to look to the ongoing changes in the larger society.

The 'New World Order' is bringing misery, economic devastation and war to the Third World – even as it leads to a bellicose jingoism, an upsurge in chauvinism, and revamped theories of European 'cultural' superiority in the West. As we go to press, John Major, perhaps looking for his very own Falklands, is sending 'reconnaissance' planes to enforce a no-flying zone over Iraq.

If we are to be effective as anti-racists – at the end of the twentieth century, after the collapse of 'Communism', when a powerful and dominant West can move unchecked throughout the world – we need not only to build our movements against racism here, but to relate to the anti-imperialist forces in the Third World. More than ever, the anti-racist struggle cannot be separated from the anti-imperialist struggle.

And the situation facing refugees and asylum-seekers, themselves thrown up by the New World Order, must be made a priority. Opposing the Asylum Bill in its entirety, and challenging, tooth and nail, the ideology that underpins the media attack on refugees as 'scroungers' and 'economic migrants', will be the first step. It is through whipping up popular racism, as the recent terrifying events in Germany show, that mainstream political parties have created the atmosphere and conditions within which nazi violence has flourished. How effective anti-racists are in challenging the fascists' virulent package of racism, nationalism and hate depends on our grasp of global developments now, and not in a doctrinaire reading of the past. ■

Hitler's grandchildren

Nazi violence on the street is now dictating the policies of the German government. Anjuli Gupta writes from Berlin:

On Saturday, 22 August, while black people, refugees and immigrants were being attacked in a racist war all over Germany, the Social Democrats joined forces with the Christian Democrats to call for the abolition of Germany's constitutional right of asylum and for tougher immigration laws to stop 'illegal immigrants' and 'fake asylum-seekers'. Then, while the hostels were still burning, Mecklenburg's MP further inflamed the violence by arguing that it had become impossible for the people of Rostock to tolerate the 200 asylum-seekers who were crowded into a small area.

As the neo-Nazis began their night after night attack on the main refugee reception centres of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, the police and the fire brigade were conspicuous by their absence. Where were they for the two most crucial hours when 50 Vietnamese men, women and children were caught in a burning building, together with a few German journalists? They only managed to escape by climbing on to the roof of an adjacent building. The journalists repeatedly telephoned both the police and the fire brigade, but from both numbers they received no answers.

Can the news from Rostock still shock us? Or have we not heard the news from Hoyerswerda, the news from Mannheim, the news from Eberswalde, the news from Saarlous, the news from Granitz, and the daily dose of racist propaganda launched by the politicians from Bonn.

Once again, the slogans 'Germany for the Germans', 'Foreigners Out' and 'Sieg Heil' are becoming familiar in Germany. These are the children of Honecker and Kohl. These are Hitler's grandchildren. ■

Racial violence: taking stock

In August, Afghani refugee Ruhullah Aramesh died after being brutally ambushed by a racist mob. CARF spoke to black community activists about racial violence in the UK. And asked, what is to be done?

On Saturday, 22 August, Manchester city centre was brought to a standstill when over 3,000 people marched to demonstrate against the brutal murders of Mohammed Sarwar and Siddik Dada (see *CARF* No 8). But even as a community mobilises, attacks are continuing in Greater Manchester. 'In the Withington area', says Mukhtar Dar of the Mohammed Sarwar and Siddik Dada Memorial Committee, 'Asian shops are regularly attacked by gangs of white youths'. Indeed, attacks in Withington have increased since two BNP activists moved into the area.

Mushtaq Khan of Bolton's Afro-Asian Action Project also suspects fascist involvement in recent attacks. 'The most worrying incident happened in early August when a gang of white lads attacked and seriously injured two 12-year-old Asian boys. After the incident, which happened in Heywood Park in the Dean Double area, older Asian youths marched to the park and fighting broke out.'

As for the situation in London, Unmesh Desai of the Newham Monitoring Project (NMP) speaks of a 'continuing and depressing spiral of violence' – and the need, in the 1990s, to go on the offensive.

Certainly, recent attacks in London have a familiar and depressing ring to them. In July, a 16-year-old Asian boy was killed in Eltham, south-east London, in an incident that is widely believed to have a racial element. Nearby, Charlton mosque was hit by arsonists on 26 August. A few weeks earlier, an elder at Woolwich mosque was viciously attacked by a gang of six white youths.

Refugees under attack

But it is refugees, more than any other group, who have, it seems, been singled out – with tragic consequences.

24-year-old Afghanistani refugee, Ruhullah Aramesh died after he was attacked by a gang of 15 white youths armed with makeshift clubs and iron bars on 31 July. Following an earlier incident, when Ruhullah confronted the youths who were taunting some female relatives, the youths lured him out of his home in Thornton Heath. Three juveniles have been charged with murder.

Meanwhile, CARF has received reports from Sheffield, Tower Hamlets and Hounslow, west London, of attacks on Somalian refugees.

On 4 August, the home of the Kahin family, on the Worple Road Estate, Hounslow, was firebombed. Just three weeks later, another Somalian refugee family, the Ahmed Dahirs, were attacked at their bed and breakfast by a gang of white racists armed with iron bars and knives. Eleven-year-old Abderahman was stabbed, requiring 23 stitches; his sister, Naseem, was also beaten.

'Part of the reason why refugees are being attacked', explains Asad Rehman of NMP 'is because local authorities are dispersing refugees into housing in racist areas that they know no other black families will accept.' This is a view reinforced by Suresh Grover of the Southall Monitoring Group: 'Local authorities believe that refugees won't complain. They use their vulnerability.'

The way forward

'We recognise that there is a very high level of violence in Manchester as a whole' says Mukhtar Dar, 'but we also feel that black people are being made a scapegoat for the recession.' Meanwhile, Suresh Grover believes that racists are being encouraged by events in Europe. The government and media attack on refugees is goading them on.

But despite differences in emphasis on the causes of racial violence, everyone CARF talked to is agreed that local monitoring groups and campaigns, which work on a day-to-day basis with the victims of racial harassment, need to forge some sort of national campaign.

New alliances are already being made. The tragic deaths in Manchester led to the formation of the Manchester Black People's Alliance, which feels itself to be in a good position to launch a unifying Manchester-wide anti-racist movement. Meanwhile, at a public meeting in London in early September, NMP initiated a wider debate about the way forward. 'National organisations, that work from the top down, cannot by their very nature, take the situation forward', says Unmesh Desai. 'At the same time, those of us who work locally with the victims of racial harassment, and have our fingers on the pulse of racism, so to speak, need to take stock, recognise our limitations and come together. We need to take preventive action to stop the attacks and go on the offensive to ensure racist violence is put where it ought to be: at the forefront of the national political agenda.'

More than 3,000 people demonstrated against racist murders in Manchester on 22 August. The Mohammed Sarwar and Siddik Dada Memorial Committee vowed to continue its work and will be organising pickets of the courts in January 1993 when the murderers come up for trial. Further information from Mohammed Sarwar and Siddik Dada Memorial Committee, c/o WFA, 9 Lucy St., Old Trafford, Manchester M15 4BX

Pawns of imperialism

The inequitable sentencing of women from Third World nations convicted of drug smuggling has long been ignored. CARF supports these women. They are not the prime movers in the drug trade, but victims of the destruction of Third World economies.

Nine Latin American women convicted of drug smuggling went on hunger strike earlier this year at Styal prison in Cheshire in protest against the inequitable sentencing policies and parole decisions meted out on them by the British criminal justice system. Their action reflects the concerns of similarly imprisoned women from the Third World who consistently receive harsher sentences than British women committing comparable offences.

Organisations like *Grupo Amiga*, which supported the women in Styal, and *Maendeleo ya Wanawakee* African Prisoners' Scheme are working for the right of Third World women to fairer sentencing and parole.

Dehumanising sentencing

Unlike British citizens, foreign nationals do not have the right to a 'home circumstances' or 'social enquiry' report, and so are denied the defence plea of mitigation. For a British woman, these reports play an important part in her defence case: factors like previous record, economic situation, her health and the health of her children are considered in court and influence sentencing.

> 'I felt mad when my husband died ... too much responsibility for me, school, rent, food, everything ... I'm in prison for money.'
> *Colombian, 26*

For Third World women, however, the fact that many of them have had no previous involvement with drug trafficking and only became involved owing to severe economic hardship is seldom taken into account. Furthermore, their sentences are based on the estimated street value, according to purity and weight, of the drug carried – something over which the women who carry the drugs have no control.

A sentencing system which emphasises the image of the independent profiteer, the immorality of the drug baron and, more generally, the Third World threat, corrupts the truth of these women's desperate existence. Using its own racist constructions to justify its inequitable treatment, the judiciary is seen to be waging a moral crusade, pronouncing longer sentences to deter other couriers from making the trip to Britain. Yet news of the West's reaction to drug smuggling seldom reaches the slums of the cities where, for very little financial reward, the poor and vulnerable are recruited.

This baby is now with foster parents

Distorted vision

Third World women are not the prime movers in the drug trade. They are the poorest citizens of the poorest nations in the world. The narrow, distorted vision of justice that concentrates efforts to restrict the trade in drugs on law enforcement denies the culpability of the powerful nations which control the rules of world trade.

The booms and slumps engineered by the free market, the dumping of western surpluses and the greed of western industrialists have destroyed the agricultural base of many Third World economies. Countries which were encouraged to borrow and to concentrate on the production of cash crops have experienced the failure of one agricultural formula after another – from rubber to tobacco, and then to coffee.

In any case, with high interest rates on debts, an increase in exports hardly makes a dent in massive trade deficits. In many ways, coca, poppies and marijuana are the only consistently valuable commodity a nation has.

Who are these women?

In 1991, women convicted of drug smuggling represented 20% of the UK's female prison population. Many of them are from Colombia, Bolivia, Nigeria, Gambia and the Caribbean – nations which have been systematically despoiled by the world economic order.

Of the Third World women drug couriers interviewed in a Howard League for Penal Reform study in 1991, 73% had children or dependants, 23% of them five or more. They left their families for what they thought would be a short time in order to make their economic situation marginally more bearable.

Facing long sentences, these women suffer severe anxiety over their families' ability to survive – or not – in the absence of a chief breadwinner. Without family support in this country, children who travelled with their mother or are born in prison are forced into care.

> 'The majority of prison officers treat Africans as stupid. We are stereotyped as savages.'
> *Zimbabwean, 20*

All this anxiety is intensified by the despair of cultural isolation and racism from solicitors, wardens and inmates alike. Prison life is made doubly intolerable.

The health of the women inevitably deteriorates. Depression, stress, insomnia and gynaecological problems are commonly reported, but often prison medical staff are unsympathetic and fail to respond.

There may be little use hoping that imperialist nations will act in recognition of their culpability in this degradation. But we can campaign for change in order that neglected and vulnerable Third World women are placed on the judicial agenda. Groups like *Amiga* are making every effort to have the issues that concern Latin American women in prison addressed. If you can speak a language of the Third World, make the time to visit these women in prison or write a letter. These women must be supported. ■

Campaign addresses: Amiga, c/o Women in Prison, 3b Aberdeen Studio, 22-24 Highbury Grove, London N5 2EA; Maendeleo ya Wanawakee (Advancement of Women) African Prisoners' Scheme, 1st floor, The Print House, 18 Ashwin Street, London E8 3DL; Female Prisoners Welfare project, c/o Women in Prison.

Policing the fortress

Racial violence in Europe is not confined to the actions of neo-nazi thugs. As police forces carry out random identity checks on black communities, increasingly stereotyped as illegal or criminal, killings of young black people by the police are rapidly becoming a pan-European phenomenon. Meanwhile, the practices of the security forces in the north of Ireland have implications for us all.

More police killings

Since we reported in *CARF* No 8 about the frightening number of North Africans being killed in France – particularly at the hands of the police – there have been more deaths in European cities.

In June, 26-year-old Rakid Tebine was shot dead by Italian police in Bologna; he was allegedly escaping arrest after a robbery. In April, another African, described by police as 'a nomad', was also shot dead by two policemen, again during an alleged burglary. Rakid was the third migrant to die in the last two years in struggles with the police.

A similar pattern of police killings in Brussels has galvanised a campaign against police racism. On 6 July, 19-year-old Lafdil Madidi was shot dead by police. They alleged that he was caught red-handed breaking into a chemist's shop and that the gun went off accidentally because he had jostled police. (The killers of Rakid also blamed him for activating the police gun!) Lafdil's family, who say he had no interest in drugs, believe he was shot whilst innocently walking past the chemist's.

Lafdil's death follows those of Mustapha El Hachim and Nourdinne

Armani in police cells, of Mimoun Sanhachi and of another young man shot whilst sleeping in his car.

'In the wake of this latest tragedy,' says anti-racist Riet Dhout of *Rebelle*, 'we are collecting testimonies from those who have suffered at the hands of the police. We must end the brutality and the cover-ups.'

The African students of Patrice Lumumba University, Moscow, were also not interested in the 'official' version of why a Zimbabwean student was shot dead by Russian police on 11 August. They protested immediately by overturning cars and hurling home-made bombs at the police.

Back in Paris, 15 August saw yet another street clash with police. Over 30 young men of North African descent armed themselves with baseball bats to take on the police in protest at yet another police killing. ■

A hidden agenda

The north of Ireland is not on the agenda of the Royal Commission on Criminal Justice, despite being the political context for miscarriages of justice, like the Birmingham Six, which prompted its setting up. Yet police tactics there raise serious issues.

Almost a year after the assassination of two armed undercover British soldiers by the IRA at a funeral in West Belfast in March 1988, arrests continued. Suspects were interrogated for up to a week without solicitors, and confessions were extracted under duress which were then used to convict them of charges such as murder, false imprisonment and grievous bodily harm, in non-jury trials. If a suspect remained silent, this was also taken to infer guilt.

Although the events surrounding the Casement Park trials were extraordinary, they mark a culmination of ordinary practice and policy in the north of Ireland, elements of which are familiar from the policing of black communities in Britain.

Criminalisation

The use of the criminal justice system to exert social and political control in the north of Ireland has led to the criminalisation of the whole nationalist community, who are daily subjected to surveillance, random arrests and detentions. After the Casement Park murders, over 200 people in West Belfast were arrested: 41 were charged, and 22 have been convicted.

This has its parallel in public order policing in England, notably in Broadwater Farm, where the death of PC Blakelock led to a similar level of arrests and charges. In both cases, the use of police to control social unrest led to operations which looked like revenge or punishment of the community.

Common purpose

The process of criminalisation and guilt by association or geography reached new heights in the Casement Park trials, where the legal concept of 'common purpose' was stretched to its limits. Inferences of guilt were drawn from mere presence at the scene. Three men, Patrick Kane, Michael Timmons and Sean Kelly, who attended the funeral, are now serving double life sentences for murder, despite the fact that they did not fire the fatal shots and were not even close to the murder spot.

International outrage greeted the application of the same logic in South African cases such as the Sharpeville Six in 1986. The rationale of 'common purpose', with its terrible consequences for anyone who becomes caught up in violent events, is clearly to deter people from participating in any mass protest or demonstration.

The right to silence

In 1988 the right to remain silent was abolished in the north of Ireland. Refusal to answer questions, either in

the police station or in court, can be used as evidence of guilt. This destroys the fundamental principle of the presumption of innocence, and adds a fearsome new weapon to the police armoury of oppression in police stations. The right is now under threat in England and Wales. The new Lord Chief Justice Peter Taylor has suggested that it be 'modified', using the curious justification that this will remove the temptation for police officers to secure convictions by fabricating confessions!

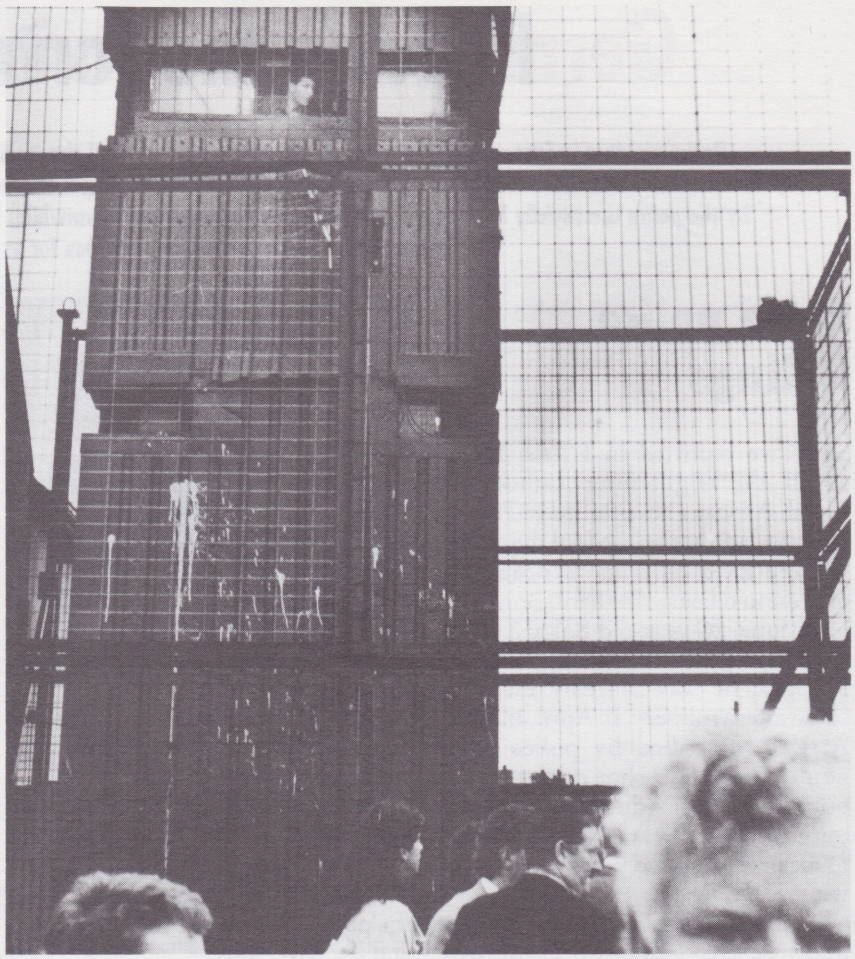
Video evidence

Surveillance from police helicopters, and the subsequent identification of suspects and their actions from blurred and distorted video images, was used to convict many of the Casement Park defendants. Though 'heli-tele' evidence has been used in public order cases such as those of the Dewsbury 82 in 1990, the picture quality is so poor that it has not been used for identification in England.

Use of journalists

The threat of criminal charges under s11 of the Prevention of Terrorism Act was used by police in the Casement Park cases to force journalists to hand over film and photos taken at the funeral.

The same law was recently used against Channel 4 to force it to identify the source of information on alleged RUC involvement with loyalist paramilitaries. When Channel 4 refused, it was threatened with the possibility of unlimited fines which would have closed it down. Eventually, it was fined £75,000.



British spy post in Crossmaglen market square, photo courtesy of Troops Out

Parallel powers under PACE (the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984) have been used in England and Wales in public order cases.

National police force?

The RUC has led recent calls in the Police Federation for a national police force. Such a move carries the danger that unlawful methods used in the 'fight against terrorism' in the north of Ireland – which already find an echo in inner-city public order policing in England – will spread further. Instead, they must be eliminated. ■

The *Justice for the Casement Park Accused* campaign is c/o Piers Mostyn, 4 Brick Court, Temple, London EC4. A report, *Upholding the rule of law? Northern Ireland: criminal justice under the 'emergency powers' in the 1990s*, is published by the Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers, July 1992.

Big Brother European-style

The ongoing argument between the British government and the European Commission over the abolition of external border controls on 1 January 1993 is fuelling demands for the introduction of ID cards. In the EC, it is already compulsory to hold a card in Germany, Belgium, Greece, Luxembourg and Spain.

The government argues that, in order to exclude illegal immigrants, terrorists and drug traffickers, it needs to ensure that 'non-EC nationals are successfully identified for examination, [so] it is necessary also to check the status of British citizens and other EC nationals'.

The Home Office has said that if external border controls have to be abolished, then the government will have to take 'compensating action'. This would include measures such as penalties for employers of unauthorised non-EC citizens, spot checks and means to prevent 'unauthorised' claiming of benefits. The power of random identity checks would, the Home Office says, bring with it the requirement of identity documents to be carried by all residents at all times.

The police service, supporting the introduction of ID cards, used the same justification of exclusion of terrorists, other criminals and illegal immigrants in its evidence to the Home Affairs select committee earlier this year. It described 'illegal immigrants', especially from eastern Europe, as 'economic migrants, many of whom live by crime'.

Also on the cards is the introduction of a population register, so that the movement of people in the EC can be properly monitored. This would require each person to register their home address with the police and to notify them of any changes, and would apply to everyone resident in or visiting Britain.

In Holland, the Aliens Administration System, which started in June, will hold identification and residence data for all foreigners staying in Holland. All police forces, social services and tax authorities will have access to the data. Austria, too, has just introduced a new law on the registration of aliens on arrival. ■

Compiled by *Statewatch*, PO Box 1516, London N16 0EW.

Germany: anti-Nazi = traitor

The recent conviction of a German anti-fascist for the alleged murder in 1947 of a Nazi military judge in a Russian prisoner-of-war camp has, CARF believes, important implications for the German anti-fascist movement. Germans who set up 'Camp Antifa' in the prison camps following the defeat of Nazism are now characterised as traitors to the 'Fatherland'.

In July, as the former East German Communist leader, Eric Honecker, was flown from Chile to Germany to face trial for the manslaughter of East Germans who attempted to cross the Berlin Wall, pictures were beamed across the world by a media hungry for its latest glimpse of post-unification German justice. No such international spotlight, however, bore down on a Hamburg Court in May when a frail 69-year-old man, Gerhard Bögelein, was sentenced to life imprisonment.

The facts

Bögelein was 19 when he was conscripted into the German army. After disobeying military orders, by refusing to take part in a mass execution of resistance fighters and Jews, he was sent to a work camp. On his third attempt, he escaped to the Soviet Union, where he joined the Red Army and fought against fascism on the Soviet side.

Later, he was sent to a Russian prisoner-of-war camp for German prisoners in Klaipeda, Lithuania, where, it was hoped, he would identify top Nazi officers. A 'Camp Antifa' was set up by anti-Nazi POWs; it ran political education activities for the prisoners and also identified Nazi officials in the camp.

In 1947, Erich Kallmerter, a Nazi military judge responsible for signing 120 death sentences from 1943 to 1945, was murdered at Klaipeda camp. At first, Bögelein was suspected, but he was later released and he went to the Soviet Union. Recruited by the KGB, he returned to East Germany where, some years later, he fell foul of the authorities and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for activities hostile to the state. In the 1960s, he was given an honorary pension for victims of the Nazi regime, after becoming dependent on drugs and alcohol.

Machinery of retribution

However, a former public prosecutor of the National Socialist Special Courts, Kurt Steckel, set out to prove Bögelein guilty of Kallmerter's murder. In 1950, Steckel, by then a Hamburg judge, began his investigations, taking statements from more than 200 witnesses, all rehabilitated Nazis.

At the same time, as anti-fascists point out, the authorities were doing everything in their power to ensure Nazi war criminals were not brought to book, by drawing out cases until the accused were too unfit, too old – or even dead – to stand trial, or until the period in which they could be prosecuted had lapsed.

Steckel never found the proof he was looking for. Instead, an indictment he prepared in 1952, putting the case for Bögelein's extradition, was based on a bitter attack on the Camp Antifa and Bögelein, characterising both as traitors to the German race. Steckel died in 1967, having been promoted to the post of director of Hamburg's regional court.

After reunification

Following reunification, and using the pretext of new evidence from Stasi documents, in which Bögelein allegedly admitted to Kallmerter's murder, the case against Bögelein was reopened. The 'Prozessgruppe Bögelein', which has organised a petition on Bögelein's behalf, maintains that there was no new evidence against him, that the prosecution was based on the case outlined by Steckel, and that all the prosecution witnesses called were former Nazis.

History falsified

According to the *Internationales Frauen Plenum*, the case against Bögelein symbolises all that is rotten in the new Germany. 'The new unified Germany is out to portray the former East German Communist state as the true inheritor of the fascist system, whilst what was West Germany is completely vindicated of any responsibility for Nazism, and painted as democratic and without sin.'

The Minister of Justice was quite overt about the need to revise history: 'We have to delegitimise a system that took its justification, until its bitter end, from an anti-fascist attitude of mind, pretending higher values and absolute humanity while it created a state that was, to a large extent, as inhuman and terrible as fascist Germany.'

History falsified... Nazis portrayed as victims ... anti-fascists as traitors ... a familiar and frightening tale? ■

Please write letters of protest to the German Embassy and send copies to Prozessgruppe Bögelein, c/o Projektgruppe fur die vergessenen Opfer des NS-regimes, Lindenallee 54, 2000 Hamburg 20, Germany.

Clemens Grün

Anti-Nazi Gerhard Bögelein (front) at his trial in Hamburg

The democratic road to fascism

Whereas calls for referenda on race used to be the preserve of European nazis, such far-Right tactics, argues CARF, are entering the mainstream of European politics.

Referenda on 'immigration' were held this summer in Hautmont, a small town in the Nord Pas de Calais region of France, close to the Belgium border, and in Come, north Italy. And in the Leon region of Spain, the Conservative mayor of Santa Colomba de Somoza has started a petition to stop the building of special housing for refugees.

Fuelling the fire

While national governments are passing laws designed to keep out refugees from the Third World and, now, from what was Yugoslavia, politicians at a local level are devising their own methods – referenda, opinion polls, petitions, quota systems – to keep those 'immigrants' already within Fortress Europe outside the boundaries of their municipal jurisdiction.

Local referenda

The referendum in Italy was organised by the racist Lombardy League (50% of voters opposed the building of five refugee centres), but the French referendum in Hautmont, where 18% of residents are of North African origin, was carried out by the local mayor, former Socialist Joel Wilmotte.

Before the referendum, Wilmotte had made several provocative statements directed against the local North African community, associating them with rising crime and unemployment. Wilmotte then instigated the referendum as a way of generating support for his line. In a turn-out considerably larger than that in the March municipal elections, 87.1% voted in support of Wilmotte.

Meanwhile, the neo-Gaullist RPR has been widely distributing its own questionnaire with the slogan: 'Help us to preserve the national identity of France.'

Petition

In northern Spain, a Socialist spokesman for the municipality of Santa Colomba de Somoza has justified the collection of signatures for a petition against refugees on the grounds that it represented merely a survey of public opinion. A new housing project for refugees was to have been built in an abandoned village. But hostility to the refugees is such that former inhabitants of Prada de la Sierra are refusing to rent out their dilapidated property to the international volunteers who were to build the new homes.

Schwarzenbach: inspired by Enoch Powell.

National debate

In the Netherlands, the findings of the government's 'National debate on ethnic minorities' (see *CARF* No 8) are to be discussed in parliament in September. This official debate, conducted, in the main, in the hothouse atmosphere of media prejudice, has led to an outpouring of racism. Indeed, a radio station's opinion poll on 'ethnic minorities' found that 70% of listeners felt that no more immigrants should be allowed into the country.

'The result of this debate', says Mieke Hopper, CARF's correspondent in Rotterdam, 'is that all the mainstream political parties have moved further to the Right. Now the Liberal party has drawn the wrath of the anti-racist movement for attempting to instigate a government investigation into "bogus asylum seekers". In July, the Dutch Liberal party (VVD) invited a well-known right-wing extremist, A. Vierling, to speak at a party meeting.'

From fascist tactic to mainstream norm

What the above incidents have in common is the way in which seemingly democratic methods, ostensibly used to consult and learn from public opinion, are being turned to totalitarian ends and to fuel popular prejudices and racist fears. In employing such tactics, politicians have some interesting precedents and 'role models'.

In the beginning, there was that British architect of the numbers game, Enoch Powell. Powell provided the inspiration for a Swiss politician, James Schwarzenbach, to form the 'Action Committee against the foreign domination of people and homeland' in 1970. He called for a referendum, which, if successful, would have led to the deportation of many foreign workers. In fact, with the largest turn-out of voters for decades, he was defeated by the narrowest of margins.

The Schwarzenbach initiative, as it came to be known, was, as far as we know, the only such referendum to be held until 1988 – then, a frightening precedent was set in Sjobo, a small town in southern Sweden. Sven Olle Olsson, the local chair (later expelled) of the mainstream Centre party, called for a referendum, arguing that Sjobo should refuse to provide shelter for political refugees. In the campaign to stop the referendum, anti-racist protesters drew a historical parallel: a similar question asked during the second world war would have meant asking for Jews fleeing Nazism to be sent back to the gas chambers.

Despite these protests, Ollson's referendum received enthusiastic approval in Sjobo. Overnight, a tiny Swedish town with a population of a few thousand became the site of a symbolic victory and a rallying point for the European nazi movement. Sjobo showed how an apparently democratic tool – the referendum – could be manipulated for anti-democratic purposes. The far Right could now argue that its demands were not extremist, but mainstream. It had demonstrated that a neighbourhood, no matter how small, had exercised its right, in accordance with democratic principles, to practice, in effect, its own immigration controls.

The fact that the question posed by the referendum ran counter to democratic pluralism, sought to scapegoat a

vulnerable minority, and was an incitement to racial hatred, was hidden behind a thin veil of 'democratic' mumbo jumbo and hypocrisy.

Dousing the flames

The orchestrators of the recent referenda, and of other devices for excluding asylum-seekers and immigrants from local municipalities, are not without their critics. The irony is that, after creating the conditions upon which the far Right could grow, the mainstream political parties, fearful of its advance, now seek to douse the flames of their own creation.

In Belgium, many city councils are refusing to register asylum-seekers, depriving them of the official existence needed to apply for housing and welfare, or send their children to school.

The government is decidedly nervous at the rebellion of local councils like Antwerp, where the neo-nazi Vlaams Blok is gaining ground. Antwerp council justifies its stance by citing a 1986 proposal – never enacted – by a former secretary of state that there should be one refugee per 1,000 population. Using the argument that the municipality has exceeded its quota, Antwerp renders 'foreigners' destitute, or forces them to move. Now, it has been told by Belgium's Supreme Court to reverse its stance.

On the other hand, the government has ruled that six boroughs of Brussels can continue to refuse residency to non-EC foreigners.

The Hautmont experience

But it is in France, where Le Pen's Front National presently commands 14% of the vote and has some 1,700 municipal councillors, that the mainstream political parties have most to fear from the far Right. After much prevarication, the administrative court in Lille has declared the Hautmont referendum invalid. But its ruling is based solely on the fact that the question was not on a policy decision. Other arguments, about the way the mayor instigated and defined the terms of debate and the organisation of the referendum, were deemed inadmissible by the court.

Hautmont: 'a Le Peniste discourse'.

The secretary of state for integration, Kofi Yamgnane, had previously argued that the referendum was based 'on the discourse of the extreme Right, a Le Peniste discourse, which makes the French believe that immigration is synonymous with insecurity and unemployment.' It is a 'discourse' that is increasingly entering the mainstream of French political life, particularly since autumn 1991, when the FN publicly launched its manifesto detailing 50 proposals against immigration.

Now, the limited legal challenge to the Hautmont referendum has paved the way for the 'Hautmont experience' – so long as 'constitutional procedures' are complied with – to be repeated elsewhere.

There are a thousand Hautmonts across Europe. Once a prosperous manufacturing centre, built on the steel and metal industries, Hautmont has lost its industrial base. With unemployment at 23% and many people moving to Belgium in search of jobs, rising crime, unemployment and social dislocation are blamed on the sizable North African community.

The voters of Hautmont now feel betrayed. As one voter put it before the referendum was annulled: 'This is democracy. Those who govern us should seek our opinion more often.' Another disgruntled racist constituency upon which Mr Le Pen can build? ■

Additional information taken from *Migration News Sheet*, 172 rue Joseph II, B-1040, Brussels, Belgium.

Euro-immigration law

The new, secret Treaty on External Borders, due to be signed by the twelve EC governments at the EC summit in Edinburgh in December, will provide the first set of immigration rules to be applied throughout the whole community.

Under the Treaty, external border controls will be much stricter. Crossing borders at unauthorised places and times will be illegal, and all carriers – sea, air and land – will be penalised for carrying undocumented or inadequately documented passengers (even when this violates the Geneva Convention on Refugees – see *CARF* No 9). Most non-EC citizens (or 'Third Country Nationals', as they are termed), will need visas to get into Europe, and they will be more difficult to get, with tighter provisions on maintenance and accommodation and funds to leave the country.

All member countries are obliged to implement the Treaty provisions, and to cooperate on surveillance of borders. Using the computerised European Information System (EIS), they will exchange information on 'inadmissible' non-EC citizens, who can be turned away at the border even if they have a visa. Those declared 'inadmissible' will include people with criminal records, those with a 'bad' immigration history, and those whom police suspect will commit crimes.

Non-EC citizens already living and working in Europe – around 16 million of them – will not enjoy the free movement rights enjoyed by EC citizens, but only limited 'visiting rights' of three months at a time, to the rest of Europe. If they work in another European state, they will be deported immediately to their country of residence.

The draft treaty will come as a shock to those who believed that the new opportunities of 1992 were intended to extend to black people. The provisions both reflect, and will magnify, racism in Europe, by once again defining immigrants as the problem and harsher controls and exclusion as the solution. ■

Lynch law in Eberswalde

The police were nowhere to be seen when right-wing youths went on the rampage in Rostock, Germany, in August. Where were they when Amadeu Antonio was killed in Eberswalde in 1990? Anti-racists are following the subsequent trial of six German youths and asking what justice can Amadeu's family expect from the courts.

On the evening of 24 November 1990, Amadeu Antonio, an Angolan worker, was murdered on the streets of Eberswalde, an east German town. The trial of six young men involved in the killing – but charged only with public order offences – began in August.

This was not the first trial of Germans following the killing of a black man, but it is the first to involve a gang of 40-50 neo-Nazis out 'nigger-hunting' who were able to surround and beat three young Africans, managing to kill one of them, all under the watchful eyes of three plainclothes policemen.

Prior warning

The local police authority had been warned that the attack was planned for 24 November and they sent the officers, not to prevent the attack, but to observe it. Anti-racists are incensed that even when the police were begged to intervene, they refused. 'Why should we risk our skin for a load of Negroes', one policeman replied.

Disquiet about the police's role in Eberswalde violence has been so intense that the public prosecutor has been forced to set up an internal enquiry into the conduct of the three policeman who witnessed Amadeu's death.

Anti-racist groups in Germany are also furious that, after Amadeu's death, the authorities made no attempt to protect his family or other Angolans in the town. Gaby Schimansky, Amadeu's German wife, was hounded out of the town just weeks after his death. While she was in hospital having his son, the pram she had bought for the new baby was daubed with a swastika.

Driven out

Of 800 Angolans in the town in 1990, fewer than 15 now remain. Through intimidation and violence, and the support of organised fascist groups which are well established in the area, the local racist youth have made the town 'foreigner-free', whilst *they* enjoy the protection of the police.

'There is a new dimension to racist violence and state connivance in post-unified Germany,' Biplab Basu of the Anti-racist Initiative told *CARF*. 'The murderers themselves came from different racist groups but they managed to bury their differences when it came to organising a lynching. Local residents and the police sympathised with the murderers. And when it came to charging this lynch-mob they didn't even get a murder or manslaughter charge but causing a disturbance and involvement in a brawl. This case shows that German law is unable to deal with racist crimes.' ■

Anti-Semitism in the former USSR

Stephen Kaczynski, who recently visited the former USSR, writes: Anti-Semitism was not absent from the Soviet Union before Gorbachov. But with economic decline and the collapse of the USSR from superpower status, there is a resurgence of conspiracy theories and a need for scapegoats. Anti-Semitic organisations like Pamyat are increasingly coming out into the open.

When I was in Moscow last April, it was possible to buy publications in the street which carried cartoons of sinister Jews trying to induce the Christian Slavs of Russia and Ukraine to go to war with each other. Anti-Semitic flyposting was also visible on several buildings. Attacks on Yeltsin by extreme right-wing and pro-USSR demonstrators were often framed in anti-Jewish terms – for example, I saw posters depicting Yeltsin with a US flag and a Star of David erupting from his mouth. Some Soviet Communist Party diehards joined far-Right forces in the June demonstrations outside the Ostankino TV station calling for the removal of Jewish influence from Russian TV.

There have been reports of anti-Semitism by Cossacks, especially in the north Caucasus, where rallies have been held demanding the removal of Jews and Armenians from areas close to Cossack settlements. Cossacks are an increasingly visible paramilitary force, even in Moscow, and they have taken part in the Dnestr fighting in eastern Moldova which has led to the flight of thousands of refugees, some of them Jewish. Russian Cossacks have been reported to be venting their spleen against Jews in Moldova, but their enemies among the Moldovan militia are said to have a ditty which goes: 'Throw the Russians over the Dnestr, throw the Jews into the Dnestr...'

Anti-Semitic activity has taken place even in areas without an anti-Jewish tradition. Estonia was the only Baltic state to lack a strong tradition of Jew-baiting, but, in mid-July, the synagogue in the city of Tartu was burnt down by arsonists.

It is hard to see how the situation will improve. According to one survey, one Russian in twenty admitted to not being able to buy enough food to stave off hunger pangs. The USSR's collapse has left a sense of national humiliation among Russians, as well as a huge ideological vacuum which anti-Semites and others are labouring to fill. Perhaps history does not repeat itself, but many of the features of late Weimar Germany are present in the Commonwealth of Independent States. ■

In this cartoon, under the sign 'Npoayktbi' (Groceries), a grinning speculator caricatured as a Jew looks on as Yeltsin says: 'At least this way, there are no queues.'

Anti-fascists beware

In previous issues, CARF has warned that specialist police squads are taking a renewed interest in clamping down on anti-fascist mobilisations. Now, frustrated by their own shortcomings, the fascists are also targeting anti-fascists for violence .

Whilst the Crown Prosecution Service is investigating complaints, instigated by the BNP, into anti-nazi materials, it is rumoured that the BNP is setting up its own specialist squads to attack Left targets. Coordinated plans in London on 8 August, the day of the Irish freedom march, led to several incidents. On the same down, a gay pub in Kings Cross was attacked by skinheads armed with CS gas canisters. There have also been attacks on Left targets in Tower Hamlets.

The re-emergence of 'Blood & Honour' in the UK is also cause for concern. According to *Cable Street Beat*, 'In recent months Blood & Honour bands have held covert gigs in south London, Cardiff and in Rochdale.' Now a revamped Skrewdriver are planning to hold a gig in London on 12 September – Anti-Fascist Action, though, plan to stop it.

Hooded KKK men have also been sighted in villages surrounding Birmingham, Ilkeston and Nottingham. In Brownhills, near Walsall, a group was seen beside a five-foot burning cross in a local field. When police arrived, the men ran off, leaving behind a photo of a man in Klan gear, KKK materials and NF stickers. Meanwhile, in Manchester, councillors have been sent KKK materials including the American publication, *The Klansman*. The Newham Monitoring Project has also been sent KKK literature.

Rights for Whites

Brownhills is close to Walsall, which the BNP has targeted for a Tower Hamlets-style 'Rights for Whites' campaign – started after a white youth was killed there, allegedly by Asians, some months ago. But, despite the BNP's best efforts, its mobilisation in Walsall on 18 July was nothing more than a trek around a deserted industrial estate, with less than 200 participants (at least half of them bussed in from London and Scotland).

Elsewhere, support has been flagging. In Flintham, a village in Nottinghamshire, 20 half-crazed BNP members, dressed in paramilitary uniforms, have taken to wandering aimlessly around the village on Wednesday evenings in a protest against the opening of a private Islamic school in the area. On 22 August a regional BNP mobilisation was due to take place in Flintham. Nottinghamshire Anti-Fascist Alliance duly mobilised, but the fascists never even showed up.

150 fascists attended a BNP rally in Tower Hamlets, east London, in support of their Spitalfields by-election candidate, Ken Walsh. But BNP euphoria was misplaced – Walsh only managed to capture 87 votes. Meanwhile, only 21 people were foolish enough to vote for NF candidate Paul Penfold, when he stood in a by-election in Lewisham, south London, on 20 August. Previously, when he stood in Catford in Lewisham in July, Penfold managed to gain 27 votes. It was noted by observers at the count that he managed to secure a larger number of policemen, to escort him from Lewisham town hall, than votes.

Halifax debacle

As for the BNP's march in Halifax on 15 August, this did not achieve the expected breakthrough that the BNP claimed it would. According to a spokesperson for Leeds Anti-Fascist Action: 'Halifax, surrounded by smaller villages and picture postcard scenery, is not really the ideal venue for a BNP national mobilisation.'

On the back of its 'Rights for Whites' sloganeering, the BNP had tried to whip up support by distributing a leaflet in Halifax town centre which claimed that vicious Asian gangs were indiscriminately attacking whites, and that the predominantly Asian area of St John's was a no-go area for whites.

In the event, the proposed march through St John's was banned by the police. Instead, there was a rally on the outskirts of Halifax. This, says Leeds AFA, was attended by only 80 BNP supporters, of whom 'over half had come up on a coach from London. The rally was over in 15 minutes, with the BNP escorted out of town by the police.'

Frustration beneath the rhetoric

Hardly a BNP renaissance – yet this is exactly the utopian message that the BNP leadership is peddling. Although BNP membership has probably increased (largely through mopping up disgruntled NF members), there is *no* fascist revival. The persistent concentration on violence, the talk of military-style squads to have a crack at the Left, the dramatic KKK cross burnings, indicate the opposite. Beneath the rhetoric, there is a creeping frustration, with nazis vying with one another as to which areas are the most militant, daring or violent, and constantly bickering over which units are prone to infiltration.

Manchester BNP's internal newsletter, the *Mancunian*, proudly declares that 'Manchester BNP are defeating the red scum'. Boasting that Manchester is second only to London in terms of victorious assaults on the Left, it concludes: 'Our enemies have spent their greatest effort in trying to infiltrate traitors into our ranks... Recent security measures have ensured that these enemy

agents no longer have any knowledge of our branch affairs.' *Really*?

Yet, despite this self-aggrandisement, there is a serious message for anti-fascists: namely, a frustrated BNP is a dangerous BNP. The worst thing we could possibly do, therefore, is to provide the nazis, through slack planning or naivety, with easy targets to go out and hit. ■

■ BNP manipulates law

The assertion in *CARF* No 9 that race laws have neither gums nor teeth was proved correct when the Attorney General announced in July that the BNP would not be prosecuted for incitement to racial hatred and that no action would be taken against its headquarters in Welling.

Meanwhile, the Crown Prosecution Service is believed to be conducting an investigation into anti-fascist campaigning literature. After complaints from Kevin Scott, BNP north east regional organiser and Laurence Johnson, who stood for the BNP in Erewash in the general election, activists from Nottinghamshire Anti-Fascist Alliance and Tyne and Wear Anti-Fascist Association report that they are being threatened with prosecution under the Representation of the People Act. Durham police fraud squad is apparently investigating the complaint against Tyne and Wear AFA. Scott says that because TWAFA receives 'public money' from a number of the region's district councils, it should not have been allowed to campaign against the BNP. ■

Police violence in Newham

Predictions that the opening of a new fortress-style police station in Newham would serve only to worsen police-community relations have been borne out by recent events, says the Newham Monitoring Project. Now, the friends and families of the most recent victims of police violence have joined together to call for an 'Independent Inquiry into the Policing of Black People in Newham'.

● During an armed police raid on the home of Mrs Dennis in Stratford, her 16-year-old nephew had a semi-automatic rifle put to his head and was dragged into the street and beaten. On realising that he was not the suspect they were looking for, the police simply left without even an apology.

● A police raid on the home of Mrs Imbert caused her to suffer a heart attack. Police ignored her condition and arrested her son, Colin, charging him with assaulting the police.

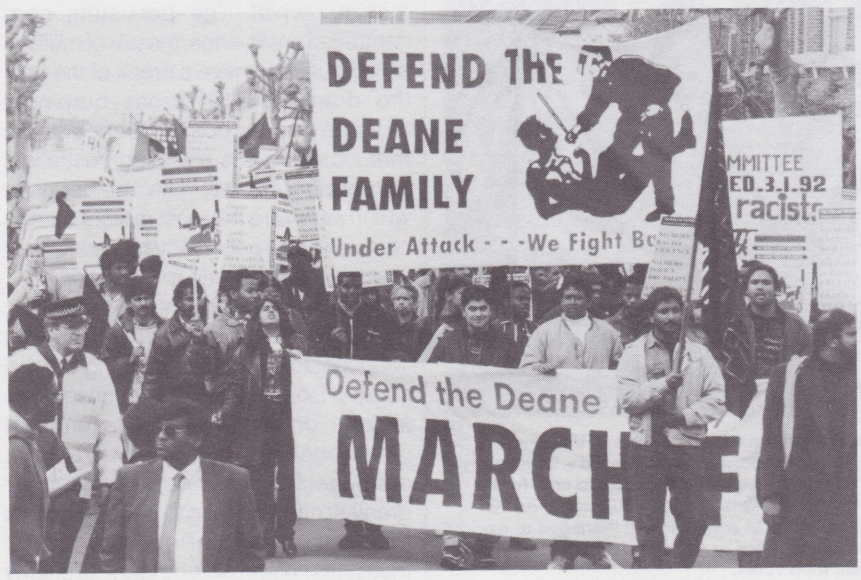
● Malkjit Singh Natt, who secretly tape-recorded his arrest, was told by PCs Bray and Gande: 'This is not your country yet ... We should fucking shoot yer ... Why don't you go home to India or Pakistan or wherever you fucking come from'. Despite provisions in the Police and Criminal Evidence Act, never yet invoked, Gande and Bray lost just one day's pay and are back, redefining the phrase, 'on the beat'.

After an angry picket of 'Fortress' Forest Gate police station, attended by over 400 people, and a mass lobby of Newham Council's police community consultative committee, NMP has launched a campaign to demand:

– The dismissal of PCs Gande and Bray.
– Criminal charges against all racist police officers.
– The quashing of Tony Deane's and Mr Natt's convictions for assaulting the police.
– The local authority to cease all contact with local police until these demands are met.

Meanwhile, the DPP is considering criminal charges against Gande and Bray, and Tony Deane is appealing against his conviction. ■

Contact NMP, PO Box 273, Forest Gate, London E7; 081-555 8151.



■ Stop deportations

William Weekes is going to be deported from Moss Side, Manchester, to Montserrat, West Indies, unless community action forces the Home Office to change its mind.

William has been in this country for over 14 years. He was born in Montserrat which, like the Falklands Islands, is still a British colony. The residents of the Falklands are white, and have been given full British citizenship. In contrast, Montserrat's population is mainly black, servicing wealthy tourists. They have been given only second-class citizenship, which gives them no right to live here.

William came here in 1978 as a visitor. He married a British citizen and applied to remain with her. The Home Office accepted that the marriage was genuine, and he was allowed to stay for one year. At the end of the year, he should have sent his passport to the Home Office, to be granted permanent stay. He was, however, advised that he need not do anything until the Home Office contacted him, and so, inadvertently, he became an 'overstayer'. He is now threatened with deportation because of this simple mistake.

William's marriage lasted until 1990, when the couple parted amicably. Marriages break down all the time, but, for black people without full residence rights, this has crucial consequences: it leads to deportation. William must not be deported.

Write to the Home Secretary, 40 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1H 9AT, protesting at this decision. Get your trade union or organisation to make a similar protest. ■

Further information can be obtained from William Weekes' defence campaign, c/o 584 Stockport Road, Longsight, Manchester M13.

INQUEST

No police officer involved in the death of Oliver Pryce is to face charges.

Two years after Oliver Pryce, a 30-year-old black man from Wolverhampton, died in police hands, the DPP has announced that there is insufficient evidence to bring a prosecution. The Police Complaints Authority (PCA) also confirmed that no officer will face any disciplinary charges.

The police involved in his death were part of a special operations service team which was called to support two officers on patrol. Oliver was clearly suffering from a mental breakdown at the time, but independent witnesses testified – contrary to police evidence that he was 'throwing the police off like rag dolls' and 'raging like a bull' – that his behaviour, although bizarre, was not aggressive and he did not put up a struggle. Indeed, given the fact that he had six police officers on his body, two sets of handcuffs applied and was being held in a headlock, this is not surprising.

It was the applied headlock that killed Oliver, through asphyxiation. The force used was such that pictures taken shortly after his death show PC Gatenby, the officer who applied the neckhold, with a reddened arm bearing the indentation of the chain Oliver wore around his neck.

The DPP and PCA have treated evidence heard at the inquest and the jury's verdict with utter contempt. There was overwhelming evidence to show that lethal force was used and the decision not to bring a prosecution is startling, given that it was based on the same evidence that led the inquest jury to decide unanimously that Oliver had been 'unlawfully killed'.

It is unclear whether DPP Barbara Mills understands that this verdict is based on the criminal standard of proof, as she is reported to have stated that the inquest verdict was based on the balance of probabilities. She is totally wrong. In returning this verdict, the inquest jury had to be sure 'beyond reasonable doubt' that the killing of Oliver Pryce was unlawful; in other words, that police (whom they name) had committed 'manslaughter by recklessness or gross negligence'.

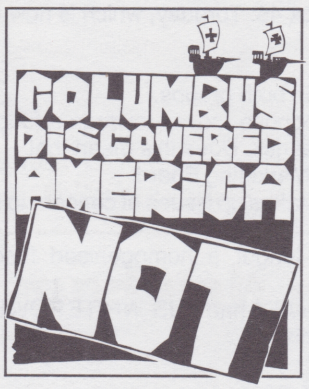
The inquest, as the only occasion on which the evidence has been heard independently, would be a good indicator as to what a criminal trial jury might decide.

The decisions by the DPP and PCA will come as no surprise to those involved in campaigns around other deaths in police custody. The police have been protected from prosecutions and the government has failed to acknowledge or respond to appalling cases of injustice in the past – Blair Peach, Winston Rose, Clinton McCurbin, John Mikkelson, to mention but a few. Now another name is added to the list. ■

This column is contributed by the organisation 'Inquest', which is working with Oliver's family and lawyers (300 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 2PJ).

■ 500 years of resistance

As the old slaving port of Liverpool celebrated Columbus' voyage of 'discovery' with flotillas, operas and fireworks, an opposition rally at the University of Liverpool on 15 August remembered, with over 2,000 activists from four continents, 500 Years of Resistance – to genocide, slavery, colonialism and racism.



Predominant at the event were the representatives from the Caribbean and Central America. Liberation movements, indigenous peoples' struggles and workers' organisations from Brazil, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Guyana and Colombia were all represented at the rallies, talks, forums and workshops. Jean Bertrand Aristide, deposed president of Haiti, was a reminder that dictatorship and authoritarianism still had to be opposed worldwide; Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa, who recently helped organise the successful black strike, made us realise how far we still have to go in the fight against racism.

'We are 80% of the world's population and we can't live in dignity', Oscar Castano, national organiser of the highly successful 500 years campaign, told *CARF*. 'We need to end paternalism and the patronage involved in solidarity movements. This event showed what can be done without romanticism.' ■

■ Mike Smith defence campaign

Wolverhampton campaigners are determined to secure justice for a local black man who suffered injuries following an arrest by West Midlands police.

Last Christmas Eve, Mike Smith was confronted by trouble-makers outside the Wolverhampton night-club where he works. The police arrived within minutes and arrested Mike, using unnecessary force, say independent witnesses. At the local police station, he claims he was threatened, racially abused and assaulted. He suffered a fractured spine, and needed emergency hospital treatment. He was charged with violent disorder and assaulting two police officers.

Mike did not attack anyone, nor commit any crime, says the Mike Smith defence campaign, which is demanding that the charges are dropped and the officers responsible for his arrest and assault sacked.

On 14 July, the Campaign held a successful public meeting. Addressed by Marc Wadsworth of the National Anti-Racist Alliance, it was attended by people from a cross-section of communities from Wolverhampton and the west Midlands. Other activities of the campaign, which has the support of MEP John Bird, the Wolverhampton Anti-Racist Alliance and the Wolverhampton Race Equality Council, include leafleting and petitioning, fund-raising to cover Mike's legal costs and media publicity. ■

Mike Smith Defence Campaign,
c/o Wolverhampton Anti-Racist Alliance,
2 Clarence Road, Wolverhampton WV1 4HZ.

■ Exeter

In the last issue of CARF, we reported that the NF's South West regional organiser, Mark Cotteril had resigned. Where is Mark now? Exeter AFA writes:

Our first assumption was that he would burrow further into the League of St George and his UDA fan-club pals. Then someone thoughtfully sent us a copy of a new rag – *The South Devon Patriot* – announcing the formation of the South Devon Patriotic Forum. It sported a cover picture, probably photocopied from *This England*, as it was overlaid with one of that publication's 'Keep Britannia Out of Europe' slogans, and it was topped off by a 'White Power' sticker.

Shortly afterwards, the *Torbay Herald* carried a short item about a new pressure group that, for starters, aimed to fight off the threat to door-step delivery of British milk. The name of the organisation? The South Devon Patriotic Forum.

We circulated these details to the local press. The *Patriot*'s response to media enquiries was to wheel out a spokesman who strongly denied any links between the NF and the Forum. The name of this individual? Keith Jowsey, whom Cotteril had cited in the famous 'I really am quitting now' letter as one of those, out of loyalty for whom he'd stayed another year with the NF.

Then Mark announced to enquiring journalists that he'd joined the Conservatives. This news had the local Tory party secretary running about screaming 'Oh no he hasn't!' We await further developments with fascination.

In the meantime, if any CARF readers have any information on *This England*, this would be gratefully received. A cursory glance at this publication, similar in style to *Country Life* and distributed worldwide, reveals that a regular contributor is ex-BNP and Western Goals member, Stuart Millson. *This England* is produced from Cheltenham, where Millson recently acted as an agent for the anti-federalist candidate, Melvyn Rendell. ■

Exeter AFA, c/o The Flying Post, PO Box 185, Exeter, Devon EX4 4EW.

Who are the 'South Devon Patriotic Forum'? CARF lets its readers decide. Just answer the following questions.

1. The address of the Torbay NF was PO Box 46, Torquay, which is now the address of the SDPF. Is this:
   a) A coincidence.
   b) Because its the same people involved in both groups.
2. The South Devon Patriotic Forum, who oppose moves towards a federal Europe, claim the traditional British pinta is at risk. Does this mean that:
   a) The SDPF has the backing of the Milk Marketing Board.
   b) The SDPF 'are a pressure group' which takes up issues of concern to the local community.
   c) Mark Cotteril and company are no longer a homogenised fascist organisation.
3. The copy of the SDPF bulletin sent to Exeter AFA had a US 'WHITE POWER' and swastika sticker stuck on the cover. Is this:
   a) An accident.
   b) Ex-NF members getting rid of some old stock.
   c) A new symbol for community groups.

(Be careful with question 2, it's a trick question – editor.)

SPORT

■ Olympian soundbites

'And he deserves it', yells the commentator, now in ecstasy over Lynford's 100m sprint. Deserves what, the gold? No, something much greater that Britain can bestow on a black man – Britishness. On his lap of honour, Lynford Christie had taken a Union Jack from the crowd to wear around his shoulders! Britishness, then, is a concept worth a lifetime's pursuit.

But other nations, it seems, do not have the same prerogative to nationhood. Here comes Mozambique in the opening ceremony. What on earth can we say of this unknown country, one can feel them thinking. 'Of course this was, till recently, a colony of Portugal.' And, of Zaire? 'It is of course better known as the Belgian Congo.' 'Here is Vietnam, very anxious to be integrated into the world after recent...' pause '...problems.' Thus does the BBC teach our 'young people of the world' of the goriest and most unjust imperial rules of the last three decades.

But what of South Africa? They were welcomed back with open arms – apartheid forgiven, if not forgotten. Indeed, women's 10,000 metres silver medallist, white South African Elana Meyer, was given the post-race sycophantic interview usually reserved for British athletes.

But what do you expect of a TV channel that chooses to end its Olympic A-Z with Zola Budd? ■

■ Is it cricket?

Norman Tebbit's 1990 'cricket test', which questioned the loyalty of British blacks who supported non-English teams, has given a further fillip to the media's racist reporting of the game. In the past, they might have been excused for being no more than little-Englanderish. But, in the current test series, they have outdone themselves by insisting that England's third-rate display and fourth-rate results were due entirely to the high-class cheating of the Pakistani team.

Under the headline 'The pariahs of cricket', Simon Heffer, deputy editor of the *Spectator*, wrote in the *Sunday Telegraph*: 'Cheating in Pakistani cricket has a prominent and, of its sort, unique history.' He then went on – with the expertise of what one might characterise as the stock-in-trade of a professional stereotyper – to speak of 'public floggings' as probably 'the only time fair play is seen on a Pakistani cricket ground'.

The fair-playing English, of course, have a more sophisticated way of cheating, learnt on the playing fields of Eton from the days of Empire: keep changing the rules so that you can keep on winning. Accordingly, when the West Indies were beating everybody with their battery of four fast bowlers, the rules of international cricket (administered by the same types that run English cricket) were changed to try to reduce their effectiveness. Because fewer overs were bowled, it was said that spectators were not seeing enough cricket in a day, and a compulsory minimum of 90 overs a day was introduced.

When that failed to stem the tide of English defeats, a rule (which caused the trouble at the Old Trafford test and led to Heffer's outburst) was introduced limiting the number of bouncers a fast bowler could deploy and defining as 'intimidatory' successive short, fast balls.

Can it be entirely coincidental that the two sides most affected by the rule are the West Indies and Pakistan, whose fast bowlers have paralysed English batsmen? ■

REVIEW

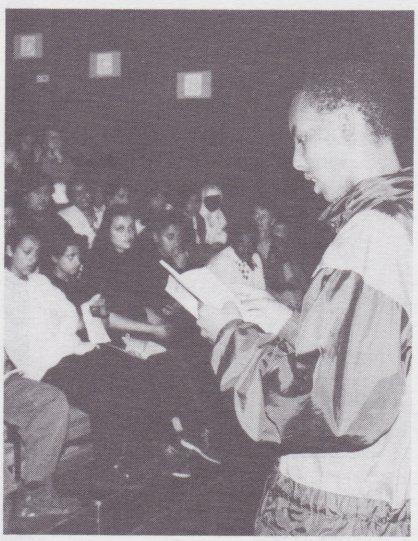
The Valley of Words

The valley is 'where once the Owler Brook ran down to the River Don'. The words are provided by the poetry and creative writing of the pupils of Sheffield's Earl Marshal School. These young people emanate from the Yemen, Somalia, Pakistan, Syria, Bangladesh, the Caribbean and, of course, like Zoe Gregory – whose 'Mum was born in Sheffield/As was my Nan, Great Grandma too/ "It's the only place to live" says Mum/ And no other place would do' – from Sheffield itself.

In his introductory note, South African novelist Mandla Langa describes Earl Marshal's pupils as 'young internationalists' who 'weave words that exhort and challenge us'. Their poetry is not, as the New Right would have it, rigid mantras extracted by teachers who indoctrinate pupils with left-wing ideas, but rather a young person's plea for justice that stems from an imaginative identification with those who experience injustice. These young writers adopt different voices: that, for instance, of a survivor of Halabja, a South African freedom fighter, or those of the children of the Palestinian Intifada who must fight armed soldiers with stones.

But not all this poetry arises purely from the imagination. Experiences of British racism – anger at the ignorance of those who call them racist names, fear at the hostility they experienced during the Gulf war – are explored.

And amidst all this is Safina Rashid's story of a young boy's 'Great Escape' from the Somalian civil war to a refugee camp in Ethiopia, where he is discovered by his uncle and brought to Sheffield. So powerful, vivid and beautifully written is this story that this reviewer presumed it was based on Safina's own experiences. But Chris Searle, the head of Earl Marshal School, explained that the story was not Safina's own but arose after a group of Somali refugees visited the class, recounting their experiences to the children. Later on, returning to the school and hearing Safina's story, the Somalis were overcome with emotion, so true was it to their own experiences.



Earl Marshal Somali school student Musa Ibrahim reading his work at the launch of *Valley of Words*.

It would be in vain to hope that Whitehall politicians, dismissive of political refugees as economic migrants in search of the better life, or *Sun* journalists who employ their imaginative skills for the perverse purpose of whipping up hatred against refugees, would read Safina's story. But teachers should use this text in the classroom to ensure that British children find out the truth about refugees that the politicians and journalists seek to repress.

Valley *of Words*, then, is more than a place. It is a metaphor for the power of language – and its subjective counterpart, emotion – to reach out beyond frontiers; a power which is in all of us, but which is most un-adulterated amongst young people. 'Solidarity is the way we should live our lives today', writes Mohammed Kassim. Can we live up to that? ■

Valley of Words, Earl Marshal School, Earl Marshal Road, Sheffield S4 8LA, £2.50.

UPDATE

Asylum Bill • The Asylum Bill, dropped during the last parliamentary session due to the general election, is expected to be one of the first items of business when parliament reconvenes on 19 October. The Refugees Ad Hoc Committee for Asylum Rights (RAHCAR) is continuing its campaign for justice for refugees with a national demonstration in London on 21 November. Further details are available from Mile or Nirmala, 071-251 5675.

Ivan Fergus • Ivan Fergus, the 15-year-old schoolboy imprisoned for robbery (see CARF No 9), has been released. Meanwhile a complaint by Ivan's mother, Nellie Fergus, about the poor legal advice the family received, has led the Solicitors' Complaints Bureau to close down Topin & Co, 'to protect the interests of clients'.

Winston Silcott • Winston Silcott's conviction for the murder of Anthony Smith is currently under review after new evidence has emerged showing that Winston acted in self-defence. Meanwhile, DCS Graham Melvin, the chief investigating officer in charge of the Broadwater Farm inquiries, has been committed to stand trial for perjury and perverting the course of justice. The new address of the Winston Silcott Defence Campaign is the Selby Centre, Selby Road, London N17 8JN; Tel 081-365 0448.

Ali brothers • Describing as 'outrageous' the attack by three white men on the home of the Ali brothers which led to the death of Ian Burns (see *CARF* No 5), Judge Brooke sentenced 18-year-old Rafique Ali to four years in a young offenders institution for manslaughter. The jury had rejected the prosecution call to convict him of murder. It also acquitted Rafique's brother Mozomil of murder and manslaughter, although he was convicted of grievous bodily harm to Burns' friend, Andrew Beardmore, and of violent disorder, and sentenced to two years. Among the friends of the Ali brothers who came to their aid, Kadier Shah was sentenced to 15 months and Mohsin Sheikh to nine months, while Philip Coughlin was acquitted. Anti-racists were relieved that the death of Burns was seen in its proper context, that of a vicious racial attack which provoked the brothers and their friends into the counter-attack in which a racist lost his life.

David Irving • A second revisionist seminar is to be held in London on 19 September. The Campaign Against Fascism in Europe is organising a protest. Tel 071-277 0817.

Noticeboard

Campaign Against Police Abuse • On Friday, 2 October, there will be a one-day seminar on policing, organised by the Liverpool 8 Law Centre. The conference organisers hope to set up a police monitoring group in Liverpool. Further information from Liverpool 8 Law Centre, 36 Princes Road, Liverpool L8 1TH; tel 051-709 7222.

Mental health system gone mad • One-day conference organised by the Orville Blackwood Community Campaign at Lambeth Town Hall on 19 September. Further information from Orville Blackwood Community Campaign, c/o Brixton Community Sanctuary, Talma Road, London SW2; tel 071-924 0913.

JUNE

14 Complaints, the majority concerning employment, to the Commission for Racial Equality from people in Yorkshire and the north east rose by 25% last year.

15 Bristol refugee hostel which turned away Afro-Caribbean clients found guilty of discrimination by CRE ... 20 black crew managers claim pay discrimination by London Underground.

16 Over £400,000 paid out in CRE race cases in 1991.

20 Society of Black Lawyers claims student barristers admissions policy is racially discriminatory.

21 Army board of inquiry calls for major changes to crackdown on racists.

25 Over half applications from asylum-seekers were rejected in 1991, compared with 18% in 1990.

JULY

1 Home Secretary Kenneth Clarke 'amazed' by secrecy surrounding EC immigration policy ... Racism in Scottish football is spilling out into the streets, seriously affecting Asians, says survey.

2 EC ministers plan to set up computerised list of 'undesirable aliens' who will be refused entry.

3 Chelsea footballer Eddie Newton was beaten by mob simply because he was black, London's Knightsbridge court told at trial of two men and two teenage girls ... Mr Natt, who secretly tape-recorded police making racist remarks during his arrest, is considering legal action.

4 Over 300 people protest against David Irving revisionist seminar in London ... Home Office rules restricting the entry of foreign husbands of British women declared unlawful by European Court of Justice.

8 Government orders UKIAS management to give way to interim committee, until new body is set up, or funding will be axed ... Reports of race attacks in Nottinghamshire are at record levels, according to local equality council

9 CRE to consider taking test case against Customs and Excise following strip-search of black American woman judge at Heathrow.

12 National Association of CAB report condemns discrimination and delays faced by immigrants from Asia and the Caribbean dealing with the immigration service.

13 Attorney-general supports Crown Prosecution Service decision not to prosecute after police search of BNP headquarters ... UK Islamic Mission in Nelson, Lancs, damaged by parcel bomb.

14 Over a quarter of calls to week-long race helpline on radio 1 were from people who had experienced racial attack or harassment, says BBC ... Reading council leaders call for meeting with police to stamp out racist and fascist activity in the town after BNP march.

15 Refugee organisation Charter 87 says Home Office planning to detain virtually all asylum seekers on arrival in Britain.

17 Newsagents in Jewish areas report hundreds of customers cancelling Sunday Times which has hired revisionist historian David Irving to decipher Goebbels diaries.

18 Government apologises to black judge strip-searched at Heathrow.

20 Home Office announces performance standards for immigration clearance at Heathrow and Gatwick.

21 Mother plans to sue police after her three children, aged 12, 14 and 15, claim that police at London's Holloway Road station drew guns on them, held them till 4am and then told them to walk home.

23 Charges against *Searchlight* editor Gerry Gable and Anti-Fascist Action member Gary O'Shea, arising from fascist meeting in London in May 1991, dropped.

26 Racism against both black staff and prisoners rife in the prison service, says Prison Reform Trust report.

27 Glasgow bookshops withdraws books by David Irving following pickets by anti-fascists.

28 Police Complaints Authority agrees with decision to take no disciplinary action to be taken against 6 police involved in arrest of Oliver Pryce.

29 Metropolitan police chief Imbert says police officers who racially abused Mr Natt should have received stronger punishment than losing a day's pay ... 12-year-old Dildar Khan badly burned when petrol bomb thrown into his home in Blackburn ... Sacked catering staff, referred to as 'black slaves', at London's South Bank centre win £2,000 each at industrial tribunal.

30 Black boxing champion Colin MacMillan considers legal action against police over stop-and-search and racist abuse in central London.

31 12 men involved in attacks on Asian shops on North Shields Meadowell estate convicted of violent disorder.

AUGUST

1 25,000 people attend Anti-Racist Alliance festival in Brockwell Park, south London ... Appeal court orders retrial in the case of Kiranjit Ahluwalia, who was convicted in 1989 of murdering her violent husband.

2 Afghani refugee dies after racist attack in Thornton Heath, south London.

4 After MP intervenes, Pakistani woman twice refused a visa to attend the weddings of her two sons is allowed to enter Britain.

5 Dissemination of racist and extreme right-wing material to be investigated following report into Ashworth security hospital shows persistent ill-treatment of patients.

8 European court says UK visa fees to foreign spouses of British nationals are illegal.

9 Immigration officials hold black British man for 23 days when he tried to leave for holiday in New York ... NACRO report accuses criminal justice system of failing to put agreed race equality policies into action.

10 West Midlands police investigate possible existence of Ku-Klux Klan group after discovering burning cross and racist literature near Walsall.

11 Home Office admits that at least 36 'Yugoslav' refugees have been deported.

15 2,000 people attend '500 years of resistance' rally in Liverpool.

16 Police clash with youths in east Paris suburb after son of Algerian immigrants shot dead.

18 Gypsies attack government proposals to force them to abandon their travelling life as racist.

22 Over 3,000 people attend National demonstration Against Racist Attacks in Manchester.

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